



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

HISTORY.

AN Historical view of the English Government from the Saxons to the present time, by J. Millar, 4 vol. 8vo. 11. 12s.

Voltaire's History of Charles XII. translated by Mr. Catter, Stereotype Edit. 12mo 4s.

The History of the Anglo Saxons, by Sharon Turner, 2vols 4to 3l. 3s.

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS.

The Travels of Robert Wilson the Pedestrian, written by himself. 2nd Edit. 3s.

POLITICS.

A Letter to a nobleman, on the Farmer's Income Tax, 2s.

Detailed Substance of the Overtures and Discussions between England, France, and Russia; 2s. 6d.

The Defence of the Convention of Cintra, By E. Jones 2nd Edit. 2s. 6d.

An Enquiry into the State of National Subsistence, by W. T. Comber 8vo. 9s.

SCIENCE.

Evening's Amusements for the year 1809, for the improvement of Students in Astronomy, by W. Frend, 12mo 3s.

MEDICINE.

Cases of Diabetes, Consumption, &c. by Robert Watt, 8vo. 8s.

A Treatise on Scrophula, by James Russel, 8vo. 5s.

A. Corn. Celsi de Medicina Libri Octo, ex Recensione Leon. Targue, 8vo. 12s.

DRAMA.

Antiquity, a Farce in two Acts. 2s.

NOVELS, AND ROMANCES.

Woman; or Ida of Athens, by Miss Owenson, 4 vols. 12mo. 16s.

The Ruins of Rigonda, or the Homicidal Father, by Helen St. Victor, 3 vols. 12mo. 13s. 6d.

Lionel; or the Impenetrable Command, by Mrs. Maxwell, 2 vols. 12mo. 8s.

The Bristol Heiress; or the Errors of Education, by Mrs. Sleath, 5vols, 12mo. 25s.

POETRY.

The Ladies' Poetical Petition for a Winter Assembly at Newport, 2s. 6d.

The Rural Enthusiast, with other Poems, by Mrs. H. Hay, 8vo. 10s. 6d.

England and Spain; or Valour and Patriotism, by Felicia D. Browne, 4to. 5s.

RELIGIOUS

Observations on various Passages in Scripture, placing them in a new light, By the Rev. T. Hanmer, 4th Edit. 4 vols. 8vo. 2l. 8s.

Plain and Useful Selections from the Books of the New Testament by The. Brown, 8vo. 15s.

A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the late Theo. Lindsay, By Theo. Belsham, 2s.

The Christian Ode; or a Regular Digest of Christ's Dispensation, by a Graduate of Cambridge, 4to. 11. 1s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Essay on the Commercial Habits of the Jews, 8vo. 3s.

The Defence of the Out-posts. Translated from the French, 8vo. 1s.

Memorials of Nature and Art, collected on a Journey through Great Britain by Thomas Horne, 3 vols. 8vo. 16s. 6d.

Reliques of Robert Burns, consisting of Letters, Poems, &c. collected by R. H. Cromek 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Essay on the earlier part of the Life of Swift, by the Rev. John Barrett, 5s.

MONTHLY RETROSPECT OF POLITICS.

LET us be permitted to premise an observation or two, before we give the political retrospect of this month. The matters of fact which it presents are melancholy. It has proved fertile only in misfortune, and we wish, as long as we are able, to avert our eyes from a detail, which it is our painful duty to perform.

For receiving the full effect of a picture, there is a particular point of view, where the spectator is most advantageously placed, not so near as to ren-

der the colours overcharged, and by forcing the eye to dwell on parts, to lose the general impression and unity of the piece, nor yet, at such a distance, as to make the whole confused, by an indistinctness of vision. It is thus, that we are placed before the grand moving picture of the times, as we think, in a fortunate point of view. Ireland is *our* station. We have sometimes imagined, that the most of our periodical writers are placed too near to the picture; so near as to form in-

deed, a very passionate judgment of partial merit or demerit, of this or that figure, of this or that head, but not an unbiassed opinion of the whole, much less of the plan and object of the grand designer.

United, as we happen to be, with Great Britain, we would not yet be supposed so much *one*, as not to retain at least, an independence of thought. In losing so much of our political existence, we have not yet entirely lost our personal identity. We have indeed read of a whimsical illusion of the imagination, in a person who fancied he had lost his head on the scaffold, which had been thrown among the heads of many other victims, and that the judges having ordered them to be restored to their respective owners, the gentleman who managed that business, in consequence of an unfortunate mistake, had placed upon this poor man's shoulders, the head of one of his companions which he carried about, with no small reluctance. As for ourselves, we are not yet so perfectly assimilated with the selfish passions and prejudices of our neighbours, as implicitly to believe that every one of us has an Englishman's head placed upon his Irish shoulders. Whatever it may come to, we are not as yet sensible of such malconformation; but seeing with our own eyes, hearing with our own ears, and judging by the dictates of our own understanding, we conclude that our situation, apart and retired as it is, may be more favourable to fair political observation and speculation, than if we were placed nearer to the capital, or transformed into a blow-pipe of the passions and prejudices of English parties. IRELAND IS OUR STATION. Here we firmly fix our feet, and here plant our affections. It is through the medium of Ireland, we look at the world, and in reference to her, we make either retrospect of the past, or form prospect of the future.

Let us not be blamed for using this stile of sentiment and expression. It is on Great Britain rests the responsibility of keeping up most impolitic and invidious distinction. With every true Irishman, with every ingenuous Englishman, we have deeply to lament that the incorporating union, has hitherto proved so inoperative in the purposes it

professed, and that however the power of the sovereignty may seem to have been consolidated by the measure, the people continue unequally partitioned. We shall ever speak in this insular of sentiment and feeling, until there be a FAITHFUL UNION, a real assimilation of the countries, in spirit as well as in form, not merely in virtue of parchment, but in the cordial intercommunion of a common country, a country in the *full development of the term*, a paternal sovereignty, perfect identity of rights, equality under the law, and reciprocal utility. As the Scotchman has gradually melted into the North-Briton, so may the Irishman into the West-Briton, if government, whatever may be the cost, do not linger in taking out a policy of hazardous insurance, and if the good sense of an English public can shake off the panic of being invaded, and overrun by the potatoe population, with the Pope at its head. We are too sensible of the peril in which these countries are at this moment placed, not to warn the people of England that there is not a word more dangerously delusive than that of *union* without assimilation, or an *incorporating* union, without full and complete emancipation of the great *body* of the people. The people of Ireland are made of that metal that will never amalgamate, without due respect both to the intrinsic qualities, and proportion of the mass.

There is however, a consolation which we are willing to derive even from the calamities of the times. The uses of adversity are often great to nations, as well as individuals, and it would indeed be to extract "a jewel from the head of this toad, ugly and venomous," if the pressure of our reverses abroad, would lead all parties at home into a selfish sense of common danger, and if the approaching parliament would as soon as possible, resolve itself into a committee (in both houses) on the state of the nation, and the most effectual means of more perfectly accomplishing the union between the countries, into one empire, one country, one constitution; the constitution purified, the country patriotic, and the empire all-powerful, might then be confident against the world in arms. Aloof, as we are, from party or perso-

nal ambition; equally indisposed to pay an early court to the Catholic, or to flatter the Protestant to his own destruction, equally inimical to a Protestant or a Catholic politico-religious dominancy, we best approve our loyalty to King and Constitution, in saying that the union will prove nominal, delusive, and hollow, until the complete emancipation of our Catholic countrymen. The centinels of the state may cry "all's well," but this will not conceal the real situation of things from the autocrat of France, if it be his object to divide the flank from the centre of the empire.

Until the union become really *assimilative*, we shall experience from its effects, not merely a political but a *personal* degradation, not merely a lessening of national importance, but of the value of every *individual* inhabitant of Ireland; and in no particular shall we find more reason to lament, than in its tendency to damp and wither all literary talent, and to starve the Irish press by abstracting its natural aliment, adequate rewards of genius, and of a high and honourable ambition. It is particularly against such deadening influence, that we would wish to react as far as we can in our little sphere. Conscious that no exertion is ever wholly lost, we call upon all those who believe intellectual improvement to be the best preparative for genuine liberty and unadulterated religion; we call upon modest merit, that, repelled by the coldness of the world, concentrates its genius in retirement; upon professional vacation; upon learned leisure; upon academic ambition; to exercise their different talents in this our field of MINERVA.

"Cuncti adsint, meritaque expectent
præmia palmæ,
Ore favete omnes, et tempora cingite
ramis.

PORTUGAL.

In the beginning of December the sensible and the political horizon appeared alike gloomy and overcast. The King and all classes of the people, uniting in expression of disappointment at the result of the victory at Vimiera; courts of inquiry at the commencement of a campaign; generals superseded and hastening from the field to give evidence as witnesses; responsibility shifted from

the ministry on the commanders, mutual disagreement on the nature and interpretation of instructions; the public prints engrossed with the acrimonious spirit of party, and the public itself soon finding reason to be dissatisfied with a court of inquiry, so constituted, appointed by the crown, unsworn itself, without authority to administer an oath to others, to compel the attendance of a single witness, or to acquit or condemn the parties whose conduct was under investigation. It appeared an incompetent tribunal for the purpose of finding out what was defective in the original plan of the expedition, or of proving what share ministry had in the unfortunate transaction, but considered in the light of a grand jury, it may collect a ground of information for a future parliamentary inquiry.

The public despondence must however, in great part be ascribed to its having been deceived into too sanguine expectation. A sudden and strange belief had certainly got possession of the people, that a single victory must be completely decisive of the fate of Portugal; and a causeless depression, mixed with great irritation, succeeded, when unreasonable hope became gradually dispelled, by more accurate information.

There is a great difference between beginning the campaign with a victory and ending it with one. A victory is best to be judged of by its consequences, and if a well digested plan be not previously laid down, if the combination in the head of the general do not embrace a wider circle than the actual engagement, the battle may be gained, and the event turn out unfortunate. The conquest of Portugal seems to have been contemplated too much as a coup-de-main business, without being, in proper time, apprized of the powerful means of protracted defence which the enemy still retained in his power, and which in the result, even after sustaining a defeat, placed him on equal, if not vantage ground, in the convention of Cintra. The advantages of the battle seem to have been counterbalanced by the inferiority of the British cavalry, and deficiency of horses for drawing heavy artillery necessary to act against the forts on the Tagus; by the want of artillery of a proper calibre

for such service; by the extreme badness of the roads; by the scarcity of provisions, and precariousness of a sufficient supply, when separated from the fleet, and by the want of any effective co-operation on the part of the Portuguese themselves, either in a military or civil capacity. It now appears certain that there has been a strong and turbulent party against the provisional government, established either by or for the regent, who, with a very bad grace, sends his mandate from Brazil to the merchants at Lisbon, for liberal subscriptions in defence of their city and their country. But however he may have effectually served the interests of Great Britain, by securing her future commercial intercourse with Brazil, it appears certain, that to retain his authority in his own country, a large army under Sir J. Cradock, must be maintained there from England, to restrain the dissatisfied, who have appeared in several places in great strength since the forces employed to expel the French, have marched into Spain. The hazard of continuing the campaign in Portugal, after the battle at Vimeira, appears at length obvious, and the positive advantages of the convention are stated to have been, the delivery of the country from the French army, and sending them to a port remote from the Spanish frontiers, the assurance of a supply of provisions from shipping in the river, which might have suffered on the coast, the release of the Spanish troops, the preservation of Lisbon, and chiefly, the accomplishment of a speedy co-operation with Spain, which was considered a principal object of the expedition, and the chief commission of its commanders. Such however, has been the disastrous termination of the campaign in Spain, that the British armies are again to concentrate in Portugal, and to make use of the very same means of defence which the French had to employ a few weeks ago, before the Convention was ratified.

SPAIN.

This great peninsula, separated so long from the rest of Europe, not more by its geographical station, than by its language, religion and government, has suddenly fixed the attention of mankind. Nations, like

individuals, grow both wiser and better by mixing with their neighbours; but the political seclusion of Spain, had the effect of confirming ignorance, bigotry, and self-sufficiency. The nation has entered into a novitiate that will lesson them, not into monks, but into men.

It is probable, that from the moment, Bonaparte conceived the project of enforcing an European confederation against the commerce of Britain, he saw the necessity of completing the circle of hostility, by such a revolution in Spain, as might brace up the laxity of her government, sufficiently, to answer his purposes; and that the extinction of the Bourbon race, the elevation of his brother to the throne, and a change of dynasty, were but secondary means for the accomplishment of his grand speculation. Even his confidential minister is believed to have remonstrated against the rashness of the measure, but he might say, of his master, as Curtius did of Alexander, "*unum erat temeritatis solatium, perpetua felicitas.*" He certainly, did not foresee the national resistance of Spain. But from the moment he was foiled and disappointed in his first attempt, from that same moment, he appears to have set all his powers in preparation for the ultimate *spring*; we may say, he *now* appears, for such was our credulity, or fatal want of communication with the continent, that, at the time, he was generally supposed irresolute and inactive. Hence it is that our disasters arise, because his plans of offence, long anticipate ours of counteraction. He has made all his combinations long before; we act here, and there, according to the call of circumstances which occur at the time, or according to the discretion of different commanders, three perhaps in three successive days; we have not had a Miltiades among them.

The great machine of a *great* army is beyond the talents, or we would rather chuse to say, the experience of British Generals. In the school of war they never rise to the *highest form*; such is the disadvantage (in this particular) of insular situation. The comprehension, and the detail of war, *upon a great scale*, its mighty

development, and its minute detail is only to be found in a master mind, that combines the highest talents with the greatest experience, which is only to be attained upon the continent. He whose head is accustomed to the tactic of 100,000 men, and he who never commanded above 8 or 10,000, are Generals of a totally different order. To a mind which can give simplicity and unity of action to the vast complexity that enters into the construction of a grand army, disposing of its great divisions, guiding their simultaneous movements, and concentrating their operations to one end, with the whole machinery perfect in all its parts, not impeded by this or that, want of cavalry, of artillery, of provisions, all which in their minute momentous importance, had been long premeditated and prepared, to such a mind inspiring such a homogeneous, and harmonized mass, what effectual resistance is to be expected from incoherent junctas, allied armies that will not act together in the field, and a constant succession of Generals. Cuesta superseded and called to account, Blake giving place to Romana; and Sir J. Moore, when he returns to Portugal, about to resign the command to Sir J. Cradock, who commands in the room of Wellesley, Burrard and Dalrymple? It is a general in chief, such as Marlborough was, who can make grand combinations and obtain great results, whose powerful genius, premeditated plans, and acknowledged eminence in talent as well as rank is able to consolidate allied armies into perfect unity of action, and identity of spirit, such a man would be worth a million. This is the radical misfortune, and this in a great degree, answers the question, how comes it that we never undertake a naval expedition without success, and never undertake a land expedition without failure? Because we had a Nelson ever on the ocean, and because***

Indeed, what could be expected from Spanish armies, represented by a British officer attending them, and therefore enabled to know, "as without magazines in reserve, without ardour, without union," and by one of their own Generals, who represents

his inimitable soldiers, "as remaining continually in the open air, during rainy nights, most inclement weather, all without hats, and a great part without cloaths, barefoot, and what is more, passing whole days without food, without exhibiting the smallest symptom of dissatisfaction." Extraordinary soldiers indeed, but ill able in this condition we should suppose, to stand before the successive onsets of a full provisioned, and well appointed enemy. The peasantry of a country has been known to struggle through life, on such support; but soldiers cannot fight well after an endurance of such privations. The moral impulse will do little without the physical force. Brigades of butchers and bakers, are not the least efficient department in Bonaparte's armies. Indeed the want of a systematic plan previously digested, for provisioning the armies, owing in part, to the poverty of the country, in no one year producing corn for half its consumption, and in part to the want of the usual summer supplies from America, and the Baltic, in consequence of the Embargo, and the war with Russia; this, and the deficiency of cavalry, seem to have been the great causes of our military reverses. On the 19th November, the French cavalry brought from the remote parts of Germany, and beginning their march only at the end of August, were in full possession of the whole plains of old Castile and Leon, from Palencia, and Valladolid, even to the neighbourhood of Beneventi. On the self-same day the British cavalry, brought only from the shores of Great Britain, had scarcely begun its march from Corunna, where it had not even been landed till some days after the French had begun their march from Bayonne.

Of four armies, two Spanish have been defeated and dispersed, one of them driven into the mountains of Asturias, and another scattered over the plains of Castile. Blake has in vain resisted the successive attacks of the enemy, and Castanos was lured to cross the Ebro, and to venture a battle by a stratagem in war, a hundred times repeated, and almost always with success. Two British armies, in the whole 38,000 men, merely

in consequence of this disaster, are obliged to retreat, without being able to effect a junction, without having once encountered the enemy, whose armies have advanced from the Ebro, that in its course, flanks the Pyrenees, to the Douro, which flows through the north of Portugal, and falls into the Atlantic at Oporto. General Hope who was detached to Madrid with the cavalry and artillery of Sir J. Moore's army, has fallen back upon that army, from his hazardous situation, leaving the defence of the city to the Spaniards. The defence has been a vigorous but a vain one. After a severe action at the foot of Somo-Sierra, where a Spanish force of 13,000 defended the passes of the mountains, and was defeated, the town of Madrid capitulated, and the French entered it on the 4th December. Such is the sad summary which begins, and nearly ends the campaign.

Let us now ask, whether the present explosion of Spain may, possibly, tend to the melioration of that peninsula? Never, in any part of Europe has the human being been so shackled and oppressed. From the lassitude of their long oppression; from a Catholicism, the most degraded in the Christian world; from a worship without any religion, from legions of monks, corrupted and corrupting the country; from the ghost of the horrible inquisition that still haunted humanity from the cradle to the grave ("nulla res efficacius multitudinem regit quam superstitio,") from this savage state of ignorance and bigotry, is there a hope that *man* may arise, that the *species* may advance, that the earth-quake which intermingles the strata, may bring the precious metals and useful minerals near to the surface. Let the hope of future good, in some degree, assuage the horror of future evils. Never did a country more require a political as well as religious renovation, and we cannot help contrasting, not comparing, the intolerance of its late government to that of the *Moors*, who, when in possession of Spain, granted to the Spaniards, the possession of civil employments, preserved the ancient laws of the realm in vigorous action, maintained the offices of counts and national judges, left the natives of the country an entire liberty

of religion, permitted them to hold provincial synods at Cordova, so that the Spaniards enjoyed a perfect liberty of conscience, during near 400 years, under a government from Barbary. Such was the penal code of *Mahometans*."

AMERICAN STATES.

This country, now become "of high consideration" in the political world, and aiming to be a balancing power between the hostility of France and England, is itself divided into two hostile parties, the Federalists, and what may be called the Embargo party. Exasperated by the circumstances of the times, instigated no doubt by one or other of the contending powers, and more than usually agitated by the approaching election of President and Vice-president, upon which the triumph of either one or the other party depends, they mutually criminate and vilify each other. The election will be reported to Congress, that sat early in this month.

The Embargo party, which forms the great bulk of the people, particularly in the southern states, are unanimous in favour of Mr Madison, and Mr. Clinton. The states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, in which this party greatly preponderates, generally decide the fate of an election. The Federalists are said to be divided in their choice, and have, on this account also, less chance of succeeding in their object. They form, however, a very active opposition, in every possible way, to the Jefferson administration. Its professed principle, is to preserve the union, in an attitude alike to be respected by France, and by England, in a neutrality equally distant from direct hostility, and from a return to colonial dependence; in a national determination to make temporary sacrifices in trade, from a sense of the inestimable value of self-government, and in a necessity of a non-consumption agreement (rather than direct hostility) which may serve to protect from foreign licence and taxation, and, at the same time secure to America, her seamen, and her sovereignty. The federalist dwells, with partial success, on the interruption of trade by the continuance of the embargo, which comes so home to the feelings of a large and strongly connected description of men

He holds out the administration as not only attached to France, but as her slave, and as completely hostile to England, who has given no just causes of offence, but only prettexts to the democrats for quarrel with a fast friend. He denounces a Jefferson who resigns his power and mixes in the crowd of his fellow citizens, as an admirer and imitator of the autocrat of France who ambitions the world. The embargo party, on the other hand, accuse the federalists of a desire to assimilate America, with European governments, only in their imperfections and abuses; to make their country powerful, in every respect, but in the power of the people; to introduce the power of a few over the many, the power of a standing army, the power of a large national debt, the power acquired by heavy taxes, and the power of renewing the closest connexion with England, for additional force, when necessary to be employed. One partizan deplores in the embargo, the impending ruin of his country; the other sees every prospect of its exciting exertions in manufactures and stimulating to internal improvement; he finds there is more capital than supposed; no want of intelligence; and he takes as a balance against temporary inconveniency, the hope of rendering America in future, really independent.

There has, however, been a late communication from America to this purport, that if the English government will repeal her Orders of Council, America will abrogate the embargo with respect to England, and if France will not annul her decrees, America will still enforce the embargo against France. We shall soon hear the event of this communication, probably in the speech of the president to the Congress. It is also asserted, on good authority, that no negotiation will be entered into on the part of the American government, until full satisfaction is made for the affair of the Chesapeake, a satisfaction which must be given in *America*; and that all negotiation for a *final* settlement of differences, must be made in *America*, so that the American Envoy has only power to make communications, and not finally to settle any thing.

America has probably reconciled herself, and is in some degree habituated to the pressure of embargo. Its effects in Europe only now are beginning to

be felt, particularly in this country. Hazardous speculation will no doubt contrive means of evading, or will break through the boundaries of the law, and the long line of American coast will present frequent opportunities to an irresistible temptation. The north of Ireland is however, agitated and alarmed by the fear of wanting a proper supply of flax-seed for the ensuing year, and a meeting of linen-draperies is advertised for the purpose of petitioning the King and parliament for such an alteration in the orders of council, as may avert the danger which threatens the staple manufacture. Its state is critical and precarious.

The speech of the President, (just arrived) has announced that the overture on the part of the American government has been rejected by Great Britain, and, in consequence the embargo continues as before. It is reported, that the house of representatives, in a debate after the delivery of the speech, had voted in favour of the embargo, by a large majority. Although notice has been given of a motion for a non-intercourse bill, it seems probable that the American States will persevere in their present posture of armed neutrality, without any farther advance to direct hostility. It is now declared by authority, that the British orders of council are to be adhered to, as long as France adheres to the same system, and altho' some arrangements are hinted at, which may, in the present state of affairs, combine all practicable relief to neutrals, with a more severe pressure on the enemy, they are not to be such as to abate the spirit, or injure the principle of the orders. No step which could, even mistakenly, be construed into concession, is to be adopted, until the final failure of the French decrees be completely ascertained.

NORTH OF EUROPE.

The campaign in Finland must now be suspended by an armistice of nature. The frost will put a stop to military adventure, or commercial activity, on the shores of the Baltic; yet before its setting in, the Russians are said to be in complete possession of Finland. SWEDEN no longer is raised by the genius of its Kings, and its Ministers, to such a pre-eminence as it once maintained, in Europe, when under Gustavus Adolphus, it saved Protestantism, beat the Impe-

rial armies, and presided at the Congress of Westphalia. The present Monarch seems to possess much of the eccentricity, without the military abilities of Charles XII. RUSSIA is drawing still closer her bonds of alliance, or subservience to the designs of France. HOLLAND; its commerce and its spirit stagnate, like one of its own marshes: with a military establishment of 50,000 men, in addition to its public expenditure, and a deficit of 70 millions (livres) in the produce of taxes, it looks in vain to the event of a maritime peace, and for a last resource, to the strictest order and economy. SWITZERLAND (to go farther south) is said to have a change of constitution planned at Erfurth, in which the form of government is to be assimilated throughout all the Cantons, and at the head of the confederative system, a governor to be placed (we suppose a Marshal of France) by the great *Deliverer*; we never hear of these deliverers, but we think of the attitude of Suwarrow, who, also, called himself the deliverer of Switzerland, and during his address, kept shaking a *kind of lash* in his hand, emblematical of the liberty which he intended them. PRUSSIA, the country of the great Frederick, curtailed and circumscribed, occupies a sort of political parenthesis in Europe; AUSTRIA will not be allowed to balance much longer, between peace and war, and TURKEY or rather its Capital, suffers alternate shocks, between efforts to assimilate with the military discipline of Europe, and relapses into savage insubordination.

ENGLAND.

At the bottom of the bitter cup which the past month has presented, Humanity still thought she discovered a hope that the overtures made by the Governments of France and Russia, might, at least, have prepared the way for a negotiation. The sweet hope has vanished, in a declaration made on the part of Great Britain, that all intercourse is terminated between the contending powers; that even a prospect of peace was not only delusive, but injurious to the eventual formation of another coalition; that the proposal on the part of the enemy, "of treating for a general peace, in concert with our allies, upon the basis of the *uti possidetis*, or any other basis, consistent with

justice, honour, or equality," was only a pretence of fairness and moderation; that Great Britain had connected herself with Spain, altho' not by a formal treaty, yet by engagements not less solemn and sacred, and that the government of Spain, under Ferdinand VII. must be understood as one of our allies, and a party in the negotiation; a proposition which has been rejected both by France and Russia, as inadmissible and insulting. And thus, the mortal issue is again joined between the hostile powers; on the one part, against the insurrection, on the other, against the usurpation of Spain.

In this new ground of war, all others that have been held out from time to time have sunk and disappeared. The declaration dwells wholly and solely on the matter of Spain: it talks neither of indemnity for the past, nor security for the future; it notices only a relic of the Bourbon race; and fidelity to engagements entered into with Spain, occupy the place of what so lately interrupted negotiation—similar engagements with Russia. The cause of Spain occupies and engrosses the whole declaration. Well,—Does not even this suggest a hope, that if Spain should happen to be totally subdued, and irrecoverably lost, there may *then* be room for negotiation, consistent with justice, honour, and equality?

Strange as it may seem, Ministry, by masquing every other motive of the war, and bringing forward Spain in so prominent a point of view, have been able to render the war itself, in a much greater degree, popular, and their administration apparently patriotic. The matter is dexterously managed: the best feelings and principles of the best men in every class, have thus been voluntarily enlisted into a prolongation of the war. Parties are reconciled, opposition is smothered. The Spanish cause, says the most powerful paper of opposition, has laid *all party spirit at rest*. The Spanish influenza is the epidemic of the day, and seems only checked by the cold tidings of the last fortnight. The merchants of London have raised 20,000*l.* for the succour of Spain, and proportional subscriptions will be adopted, no doubt, in the other cities and towns of the empire.

After all, is it improper to ask, are we fully acquainted with the sentiments, and real state of the Spanish

nation; does its universal population breath one opinion? Into what parties is it divided? By letters from officers of the first distinction it is certain they have *not* met with the enthusiastic spirit, zeal, and activity which we are taught to believe, had universally animated the Spanish people. Sir J. Moore's army, in its march, only met with coldness and jealousy, owing to the pressure of their own wants, and the just apprehension that the subsistence of a great army must aggravate their necessities. If such be the behaviour to an advancing army, what will it be to a retreating one? The Spanish generals have almost all been denounced, or superseded in succession. *Since our reverses*, we seem to have come to a better knowledge of Spain. In short, *if* the energy of the Spanish people be founded on proper principles; if essential improvements in the form of government were made a primary object, to which the central junta had pledged itself; if the people had a resolute wish to emancipate themselves from the domination of a bigotted and intolerant priesthood, all of whom batten on the riches of the country, then our hearts go along with them; but, if, under the influence of such unhallowed leaders, they should even resist Bonaparte, to return into their former torpidity, to have their intellects debased, their trade and commerce shackled by the most stupid and ignorant laws and regulations, to herd with beasts of the field, to have nothing human but the form, what are we to wish in such a choice of evils? Any thing, we will answer, rather than Bonaparte in possession of the Spanish peninsula.

England, then, has pledged itself to maintain the cause of Spain by force of arms. Well, if it be so, and if Bonaparte has above two hundred and fifty thousand men across the Pyrenees, along with *himself*, was not *that* the moment which ought to have been in *forecast*, for carrying a noble blow into the vitals of France? Ought not the Duke of York to have been on the road to Paris, while Bonaparte was on his march to Madrid? Ought not another Cressy and Poitiers to have been enterprized by the sagacity and spirit of a prompt and anticipating Ministry? Is there no part of the coast of France, from Brest to Ostend, which is weaker than another, in its

power of defence? would not a stroke of this sort be the most effectual relief to Spain? *But* the season was unfavourable, *but* the transports were *otherwise* employed; *but* there was a want of disposable force; and so Hanno cried aloud in the streets of Carthage; "*But* the Alps;" "*but* Scipio in Africa," when Hannibal had melted the mountains, and was before the gates of Rome. It is not by waiting for the developement of the enemys plans, and *then*, opposing a measured resistance; but it is only by an early premeditation and sudden seizure of GREAT OPPORTUNITIES, unexpected by all but the master mind that conceives and profits by them; it is only by such means, astutely schemed and alertly executed, with the wiliness of the serpent and the wing of the eagle, that this man can be outwitted or outstripped, whose character combines the forecast of Philip, with the activity of Alexander.

But, if *Continental* warfare, on its grand scale, be found incompatible with what may be called, the natural habits of the country, or inconsistent with the limited experience of its generals, let Britain, in proper time, that is, the present time, the golden *now*, put forth, deploy all and every advantage of *insular* situation; soon will *all* become necessary. Let her anticipate, at least, in defensive war. Let her not have courted the Iberian peninsula, and now decline the Irish island. Let Catholic Emancipation be the work of your fears, if it is not to be of your wisdom, and, before the battle be joined, which is to decide, not on this or that subordinate interest, but upon national existence, sacrifice to the god of armies upon the altar of Justice. "*Audendum universis, aut omnia singulis patienda.*"

IRELAND.

Of what is passing on the great stage of Europe, Ireland is a silent but *not* an inattentive spectator. A Yorkshire man, who was examined lately in a Dublin court of justice, declared upon oath, that he had never heard of such an event as an union between Britain and Ireland; and, perhaps, with the same truth and sincerity might have sworn, that he knew as little of a revolution in France. At this prodigy of ignorance, an Eskimaux Indian would smile, but most of our political economists would cry "So much the better."—"Ah happy Yorkshire man!"

(will all those exclaim, who labour under the disease incident to the mercantile interest, a dropsy of the *chest*) Ah happy Yorkshire man! in thy fat and contented ignorance, thy soul and body, converted between the division of labour, and the pressure of taxes, into a sort of *brasn*, too callous to be stimulated by the spark of knowledge, or by the punctures of curiosity! Ah happy Yorkshire man! the extremes of society meet in thy breast; and high civilization ends at the same point of ignorance and stupidity, where barbarity begins."

The division of labour (that great discovery of philosophy, put in practice by avarice) has not, however, been pushed to such lengths in Ireland, as to make man a part of the machine; and misgovernment, which has kept the country so long idle, must now bear the consequence of its being inquisitive. Bring this country *home* to the *whole* people; they will not then be such great politicians.

We fear that most classes of people in England are as ignorant and indifferent about the state of Ireland as our honest Yorkshire man. They know more of New-Holland, than of old Ireland. We cannot, for example, conceive that Sir Arthur Wellesley, who fills at present the sinecure office of secretary to the duke of Richmond, can have got much information, or much interest about the civil affairs of this country. We declare, that when we just now read of lawless banditti in the south, as we have done from time to time since we have been able to read at all; when we just now see an account of a coroner in the county of Limerick, being obliged to protect himself by dragoons, in going to hold an inquest on a person murdered; returning without being able to effect his purpose: no jury to be found, not a magistrate, not a gentleman of any description, not an individual who could read or write, on the spot, to assist at the investigation of a notorious murder; when we view such a fretting sore of society, so long endemic in the south, without any parliamentary investigation, by commission, or otherwise, into its real causes, and specific remedy, we do declare, that, on taking up the last speech of Mr. Jefferson to Congress, we think that an incorporating union will take place

between the American States and the *Indian* tribes, more expeditiously and easily in a few years, than Britain is like to do with the natives of Ireland, during the course of a century, if the same measures be not adopted in the latter case, as have been in the former.

"The *Creeks*," says the President, in his speech, "are exerting themselves to arrest offenders against the laws; and the *Choctaws* have manifested their readiness and desire for amicable and just arrangement respecting depredations committed by disorderly persons: *and generally, from a conviction, that we consider them as a part of ourselves, and cherish, with sincerity, their rights and interests*, their attachment to us is daily gaining strength, is extending from nearer to more remote, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practised towards them; husbandry and household manufactures are advancing among them, and they wish to be identified with us in laws and government." Legislators of Britain, listen, *in time*, to the important lesson, and profit by it, ere too late!

But if the Union has not hitherto assimilated the lowest order, how far has its professions been realized, with those of a higher rank among the Catholics, who may be supposed to have influence and authority? It has been the effort of the present ministers to impress upon the public, particularly in Britain, that however irremovable their objections to the abstract question of Catholic emancipation, they were still determined to act upon a system, at least, in its subordinate points, practically conciliatory towards so numerous and respectable a portion of our fellow subjects; how far their conduct has coincided, let the following undeniable statement evince.

In the county of Tipperary, a county of an extensive Catholic population and influence, the great landed proprietors of which, as well Protestant as Catholic, have recorded their opinions in favour of relaxation from religious disabilities; a ministerial disrespect has been most marked, and most peculiarly felt. Since the year 1793 it has, without an exception, been the practice to appoint, at the various assizes, a certain proportion of the Catholic gentlemen of the county upon the grand jury. Even during those

years, when, from the existence of civil commotion, party union and religious acerbity prevailed, no deviation from this practice took place in the county of Tipperary. It remained, however, for the present servants of the crown to regulate their official tenure, not alone by the denial of disputed rights, but by the actual abeyance of those privileges which the Irish legislature had solemnly conferred for centuries of efficient and recognized loyalty. In that county, at the spring assizes for the present year (the first assizes when the ministerial sheriffs had the return) there was but one Catholic on the grand jury; and, at the last summer assizes, that description of gentlemen were totally and most insultingly excluded. But the evil and the dissatisfaction do not terminate here. In every county south of Dublin, save Tipperary county, the high sheriffs are appointed upon the recommendation of the representatives. For reasons best known to the Irish government, the members of the county of Tipperary have not only been overlooked in such appointments, but an individual to whom the great majority of the freeholders have declared their dislike, and whose principles are notoriously hostile to the feelings of the population, is the man invested with that preference, which the constitution and its practice have confided to the proper organs of the public opinion.

When Sir Arthur Wellesley shall be more at liberty to attend to the duties of his civil situation, we may hope that he will begin to feel some sympathy for millions of his countrymen, whose only crime is an attachment to those tenets of religion, the support of which has been one of his arguments in favour of the convention of Cintra, and on the perfect restoration of which he so strenuously congratulated the bishop of Oporto.

Our Catholic countrymen have of late experienced a sort of *political* schism, with respect to a question about a royal controul over the appointment of their bishops, which has ended, by illustrating their strong attachment to the discipline of their church, and not less regard to the political independence of its pastors. The difference originated from that part of Mr. Grattan's speech on the Catholic petition of 1808, in which

he said, he was authorised to declare, "that if government should come to a settlement with the Catholics, the king might have a complete negative on the appointment of bishops; that the bishops should send to his majesty, name after name, until he should approve of some one of the persons so returned to him. I said," continued he, on making this proposal, "I have authority; and I wish it to be understood in so doing; I am authorised by one appointed by the Catholic bishops, their agent for the management of their interest." In this treaty on the part of the Catholic episcopacy, the agent has been proved to have acted precipitately and prematurely; for the Catholic prelates assembled in Dublin (on the 14th Sept.) resolved against the admissibility of the *Veto* (as it is called) as inconsistent with the faith, nature, and discipline of the Roman Catholic church; and in an explanatory answer from the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, to an address from the gentlemen of Louth of that persuasion, interpreting the *Veto* merely as an additional security for loyalty, he says, "that although this royal controul be not contrary to the doctrine of their church, or to any practice *essentially* and *indispensably* connected with their religion; yet, its rejection seems to have arisen from the fear of such concession, being eventually dangerous; such danger being of a temporary nature, resulting from existing circumstances, not from the nature of the measure," evidently as we think, alluding to the political effects, and temporal power, which such a controul would place under the influence of the crown. The Roman Catholics at Kilkenny (Nov. 4) concur with the decision of the Prelates on this subject, at their late national Synod in Dublin, and return them an address of thanks, concluding with a confident hope that "*ROMAN CATHOLIC IRELAND*" has but one mind and one voice on this momentous question.

We stop a moment here to deprecate the use of the compound terms here noted, as assuming in aspect, and at best, ambiguous in purport, savouring too much of Catholic, in place of Protestant dominancy, and political exclusion. Have we not an equal right, and greater power, to call it Protestant Ireland, or Presbyterian

Ireland? On every ground of abstract right, political expediency, and particular urgency, are we friends to the cause of the *Catholics in Ireland*; but we know enough of the tendency of human nature, and enough of this portion of it, to put them on their guard against the use of expressions which may alarm the partiality of their friends, and confirm the prejudices of their enemies.

The Catholic clergy and laity have united in their meetings with a common spirit, and a large assembly lately held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, have concluded the matter, and finally *vetoed* the Veto, both on the part of the clergy and of the people. Our limits will not suffer us to enter more fully into this question at this time; and, although, by the help of management and manœuvre, we think the election of bishops might have been so conducted, even with the Veto, as not to interfere with the necessary transmission of spiritual power from the head of the Catholic church; yet, on the political part of the question, we are decided in opinion that the Veto was in effect, and probably in its original design, a means of placing the Catholic clergy not only under the lock and key of the minister of the day, but also of locking up, and estranging the clergy from the people.

And if we were inclined to have a doubt upon this subject, we should probably be settled in our conviction by comparing, or rather contrasting with the conduct of the Catholic clergy on this occasion, the display of presbyterian loyalty, (from whatever *cause* it may proceed,) which has been lately exhibited, before a smiling public, in the address of the Presbyterian ministers in general synod assembled. "It is," say these courtly politicians, with the greatest pleasure, "and most sincere approbation, we observe, that your Majesty's government proves a sanctuary to the oppressed of other nations, a prop to the falling liberties of Europe, and a source of confidence to all those who resist the unprincipled encroachments and usurpa-

tions of the common foe of Europe. *This*, we are happy to see, resulting from the sagacity and wisdom with which your Majesty has chosen the *persons who administer the government of the empire, and the wisdom, energy, and magnanimity* with which the councils thereof are at present conducted." It may prove a comfort to those inexperienced in writing addresses of this sort, that should the ministry change to-morrow, and their opponents come into power, the Presbyterian clergy will not have occasion at their next meeting in synod, to alter one word of the present perennial composition.

With respect to the Catholics of Ireland, we trust that whatever differences they may have had about this subordinate subject of the Veto, they will continue embodied, and firmly united, moving in tranquil but indefatigable progress, to the consummation of their political freedom. We trust, that without implicitly confiding themselves and their cause, into the hands of particular parties, nor into the management of subtle agents, they will chiefly act from the native intelligence of their own minds, the simple policy of a sound understanding, and with a fixedness of purpose not to be warped from a seizure of present opportunity, by the cajolery of the courtier, or the procrastination of the patriot. Let them again petition parliament, with magnanimous loyalty, and with that energy of character and expression, which will show them worthy of emerging from their long and painful probation, into a life of action and glory. Let Britain be instructed in its present adversity, that the alliance of countries to be effective must be linked by mutual interest, confederation by sincere affection, and union by perfect coalition, and real association. It will be a secret consolation in the calamities which surround us, if they should prove in any degree instrumental to the emancipation of our Catholic brethren, under that Providence whose angel that "rides" in the whirlwind, and directs the storm," is still an angel from HEAVEN.

PROVINCIAL OCCURRENCES.

ULSTER.

The Prelates of Ireland are soliciting government for a general privilege of

franking, in common with the English bench; at present, only the two Irish Bishops who have seats in the house of